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CURRENT TASKS OF COMMUNISTS IN TRADE UNIONS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech 22 Sep 80 No 20, 22 Sep 80 pp 42-44

[Interview with Ludvik Opletal, chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council in Brno, by Jiri Novocny: "Current Tasks of the Communists in Trade Unions"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always considered it one of its foremost tasks to involve wide masses of our working people in implementation of the party policy, and therefore, the attitude of the party to the broadest mass social organization, which has a membership of over 7 million workers, reflects its close unity with the workers' class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia. Communist officials and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement play an important role in the party's relations with trade unions.

Comrade Ludvik Opletal, chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council in Brno, answered our questions about the current and prospective tasks that must be resolved now and in the future by the communists in organs and organizations of trade unions in the South Moravia kraj.

[Question] The coresponsibility of our trade unions for the development of socialism finds its specific expression in inspiring our workers to demonstrate initiative in their fulfillment of tasks in production, in their integration into the decisionmaking processes when resolving problems of production, and in their participation in the management of production. What is the task of the communist members of trade unions in that area, particularly in conjunction with the application of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980?

[Answer] We regard the coresponsibility of our trade unions for the development of socialism as a fulfillment of a dual function. I would express this most succinctly, saying that there can be no rights without obligations, conversely, no obligations without rights, when it concerns the solution of our economic and social affairs. The unity of the rights and obligation comes into the focus more clearly in conjunction with a gradual introduction of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980.

By the application of the Set of Measures we also implement the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. The Set of Measures expresses objective needs of the further development of our socialist society and a higher level of our economic relations.

For that reason, the communists in trade unions must approach this task in a responsible and creative manner, and prepare promptly and thoroughly for its fulfillment. Within the system of party education our party offers its members and candidates appropriate opportunities to improve their knowledge. A search for criteria of its efficiency continues; one of them should assess how it helps the principles stipulated in the Set of Measures to penetrate into the people's thoughts and deeds.

[Question] What specific role will the communists in trade unions play in explaining and clarifying the Set of Measures to our workers?

[Answer] The communists in trade unions, with a far-reaching efficient cooperation of other officials in the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], must vigorously assist in creating such conditions and such a climate that the tender plant of the Set of Measures may take a healthy root. For that purpose we are organizing, first of all, a lecture to explain the Set of Measures--its basis, its purpose, and new ideas for consideration of its aspects. We held a seminar of the expanded plenum of our Regional Trade Union Council where comrades from the Antonín Zapotocký Central School of the ROH in Prague lectured. We made that lecture and additional materials available to workshops of trade union education at district trade union councils where we demand a close cooperation with the institutes of political education at the CPCZ District Committee, as well as with the Regional Political School in Brno.

Our trade union associations are concurrently acquainting our workers with the application of the Set of Measures in individual branches and ministries. The measures must be explained to workers' collectives in branches. For that purpose we are preparing standard plans of trade union education. We intend to appoint an aktiv of our leading economists to act as teams of lecturers for consultations on the contents of the Set of Measures so that everybody can understand it. Furthermore, we conducted a seminar on the implementation of long-range cadre, personnel and social programs in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Thus far, comprehensive plans for social development, applied with various degrees of success, have been focused primarily on workers' rights and advantages. However, long-range cadre, personnel and social programs also obligate the people to fulfill their duties by creating financial and material preconditions for the satisfaction of their needs and interests.

[Question] Concern in the development of labor initiative must become an integral part of the economic management and of all activities in our trade unions. Communists in trade unions in particular must promote this task as stipulated in the document of the CSSR Government and of the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] concerning the development of labor initiative in the 1979-1980 period. What experience have you gained in your kraj in this respect?

[Answer] In 1979-1980 we organized the workers' activity and initiative in honor of the 35th anniversary of our liberation, and directed their efforts toward higher efficiency and quality of all work and toward higher economic consciousness. Nevertheless, it would not be sincere to think that we have completed a major part of that work. The truth is, of course, that systematically, step by step, we are focusing on vital areas underscored in the documents of the CSSR Government and of the URO. Let us consider, for instance, our attention to the construction of power

engineering projects in the South Moravia kraj, in which our workers are participating. It is our satisfaction and, at the same time, obligation that the words "our building" and "we" are already beginning to be accepted in the nuclear power plant in Dukovany, okres of Trebic. Tens of working teams have become closely acquainted, and the towering construction which looms behind them will dominate the skyline of the Dukovany area in the future. We concluded agreements with the Regional National Committee and the Regional Trade Union Council on mutual cooperation, for example, in organizing competitions to conserve electricity and fuels. We discussed the contribution rendered by our technical intelligentsia in fulfilling the tasks of the plan. We assessed the contribution of the long-term socialist pledges adopted for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It is now confirmed that when applying the Set of Measures, the long-term socialist pledges for the Seventh Five-Year Plan will represent an essential method in the development of our workers' initiative.

[Question] Our current and prospective tasks demand that the communists in trade unions unify their procedures for further development of trade union programs. What tasks are being carried out in this direction by the communists in the basic party organization of the Regional Trade Union Council in Brno?

[Answer] The activity of this basic party organization affects to a considerable degree improvement of work performed by political workers in the Regional Trade Union Council and in the regional committees of trade union associations who participate in the management of district trade union councils and district trade union associations, enterprise committees and plant organizations of the ROH in our kraj, in other words, a total of almost 800,000 members of the trade union base. Our party organization has united the communists who serve as political workers in the Regional Trade Union Council and the Regional Association of Education and Culture system for the purpose of implementing superior, tested forms and methods in the fulfillment of party decisions within trade unions. In their membership meetings the communists discuss methods of general application of their experience in individual branches and the problems they encounter. Furthermore, our organization participates in the development of proper dimensions in relations of the all-union and federation activities, and individual associations are steered toward cooperation in the solution of problems exceeding the framework of a single branch. Higher responsibility for the implementation of the decisions is also being enforced within the party. Membership conferences which analyzed the results of individual meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee offered in the discussion numerous proposals. On the agenda were, for example, methods to improve the work with the trade union aktiv and to direct more efficiently trade union education and the activity of trade unionists in workers' teams.

[Question] The 15th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee recently underscored that our ideological educational system must be further improved. In your field this means upgrading of trade union education, better schools of socialist labor, economic propaganda and agitation, educational programs to be carried out in workers' teams and in particular, among the youth. What tasks does that impose on communists-trade unionists?

[Answer] In June 1980 plenary session of the Regional Trade Union Council discussed the decisions of the 15th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee. Our trade union organization got very favorable conditions for the fulfillment of its share of

responsibility for our workers' education. A solid system of trade union education is at its disposal. Our topmost task is to upgrade its activities. Basic ROH organizations and district trade union councils reviewed recently the 1979-1980 academic year and the situation in planning for next year. Without overestimating the results achieved in trade union education, our aktiv of voluntary propaganda workers, lecturers and distributors of literature with a total of 17,000 members, has accomplished a great deal of honest work in cooperation with institutes of political education of the CPCZ district committees, the Regional Political School in Brno, and schools of socialist labor. Nevertheless, we feel that we still have considerable gaps, which the results of the 1979-1980 academic year have also confirmed. For instance, the development of our mass political work in places of work and through person-to-person canvass are unsatisfactory.

Our trade union education often lacks efficiency in those places where political training had just been completed. This concerns, for instance, a lack of understanding that the work must be done in shifts, the schedule of work adjusted, capital assets well utilized, and in general working discipline observed. In this respect, the Plants for Precision Engineering, for example, have been doing a splendid job by including in their trade union educational programs also lectures focused on better quality of production, exploitation of capital assets, and application of Soviet methods of competition. What is the result? They announced a long-range socialist pledge for the Sixth Five-Year Plan which, though difficult, is advantageously reflected in the quality of their production, the volume of production of spare parts, and the development of a competition to achieve the highest shift rate. Naturally, economic propaganda and agitation alone could not resolve every problem, but they helped the workers' teams realize many facts and steer their efforts in the right direction. An analysis of the educational work following the 15th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee has shown that in the future we must proceed more vigorously in organizing schools of socialist labor wherever we can find unexploited opportunities for such schools. We must upgrade our work with the lecturers and propaganda workers, increase attendance at lectures to maintain their quality, and eliminate boring reading of haphazardly prepared reports.

We must reexamine creative programs for lecturers, so that they do not regard their work only as a job, but also as an opportunity for their own self-fulfillment by advancing their own education and spreading knowledge among the workers. Furthermore, a review has shown that the control of trade union education must be unconditionally intensified, beginning with sectors and ending with the regional political school. In trade union education we face an uncommonly challenging task to acquaint our workers with the Set of Measures.

In the final analysis, we have every right to regard trade union education as preparation for our young unionists' membership in the CPCZ. Our target is to make every basic organization of the ROH feel coresponsible for the training of its most promising members for membership in our party, because the decision as to who will lead and guide our society in the future is made today. This requires the trade unionists to work more thoroughly and over a prolonged period with our youth. Many basic ROH organizations have gained good experience with the movement of reserves of the socialist labor teams. The work with young people, however, must begin much sooner, as, for instance, in case of the comrades in the CKD [Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek] of Blansko, who organized a station of young technicians in the basic 9-year

school, where they work with children, influencing, among other things, also the choice of their vocation.

An agreement with the Regional Administration of the Ministry of the Interior in Brno aids us in our work; according to it the communists from the regional trade union council and regional committees of trade union associations, together with its employees, are fighting juvenile delinquency by expanding the young people's knowledge of the law and intensifying their attitude toward our socialist society.

[Question] Attention concentrated on the solution of the workers' personal and labor-related problems, and on their suggestions and proposals, is part of daily activities of our trade unions. What are the measures adopted by the party organization of the Regional Trade Union Council for reviewing workers' suggestions, proposals and complaints promptly and responsibly?

[Answer] The communists in our trade unions have an enormous duty to strengthen democracy. A tried and true method in that process involves consultations on production, to which we must pay even more attention. The basic party organization in the Regional Trade Union Council fosters in the communists personal responsibility for prompt, responsible and expert review of such suggestions and complaints, more intensive activity on the part of arbitration commissions in plants, and advanced professional and political knowledge of officials at every level as a precondition for adroit and competent decisionmaking.

Upon the decision of the URO six additional okrasses in the South Moravia kraj were recently granted the right to publicly supervise the implementation of the labor code. As a result, the number of complaints addressed to the highest trade union has declined, as have the instances of repeated complaints. This proves that the process of dealing with them has been qualitatively upgraded.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED SOCIOLOGIST DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, SOCIAL POLICY FOR 1980'S

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 34 No 33, 17 Aug 80, No 35, 31 Aug 80

[Articles by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, director, Institute for Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The Challenge of the 1980's"]

[No 33, 17 Aug 80 p 9]

[Text] A Consideration of Economic Problems

The Tenth Party Congress will provide an answer to the question what we must do to be able--under the new conditions--further to pursue our present policy, which is oriented toward accomplishing our principal task, and what new prerequisites must be established, what tasks must be accomplished to this end. Even now it is clear that from an historical point of view the decisions that have to be made in this respect will be no less important than the resolutions adopted by the Eighth and the Ninth SED Congress.

In the course of the 1970's, it was possible to bring into play the advantages of socialism in a quantitatively and qualitatively new way. Even though a number of complex problems had to be solved--especially in the last half of the past decade--the development of the economy proceeded at a steady pace and in the last few months the rate of growth has noticeably accelerated. This has provided a solid foundation for the implementation of extensive sociopolitical programs. Even today it is clear that the respective targets of the present five-year plan will be met and exceeded. Thus, while the people's net monetary income for these 5 years was targeted at a total of M 552 billion, the actual amount will be at least M 554 billion. The retail turnover target was set at M 461 billion, but the actual turnover will be in excess of that amount. For social funds, M 207-210 billion were originally targeted, but M 233 billion will actually be made available. The housing construction plan stipulated construction or modernization of 750,000 apartments, but this target will be exceeded by at least 60,000 units. These figures are based on the results achieved during the period from 1976 to 1979 and on the plan targets for 1980. However, the results obtained during the first 6 months of 1980 indicate

that the figures quoted may very well be exceeded.

Three Factors

What are the new conditions under which we will have to implement the policy objectives hitherto pursued? There are three factors that are of special importance in this regard: Firstly, the new dimensions of our work. Secondly, the aggravation of the international situation and thirdly, the momentous world-economic changes. We will examine these new conditions somewhat more closely.

First of all, there is the fact that during the past 10 years the dimensions of our work have changed considerably. In order to be able to continue and gradually to extend the comprehensive sociopolitical measures in the 1980's, we will need a much more solid material foundation than the one we had at the time of our Eighth Party Congress. Thus, as compared to that period, it is now necessary year after year to build twice as many apartments. The monthly earned income of workers and salaried employees (M 1016) has exceeded by M 254 the average income of 1970. During this period, total pensions increased from M 9.7 billion to M 15.3 billion. The net monetary income of the population increased by approximately 50 percent. From the social funds of the state, each citizen receives twice the amount he or she received in 1970. Calculated for a family of four, the monthly state subsidies intended to stabilize prices, rents and rates and to promote cultural concerns and support health services rose from M 360 in 1970 to M 730 in 1979. Thus the present level of purchasing power calls for a considerable increase in the commodity supply. In this respect, we are not merely concerned with the quantity of the consumer goods, but with their quality and with the changes in the structure of demand. As the people's income increases, the demand for high-quality goods increases as well. At present, the individual citizen's retail trade turnover exceeds by approximately M 2,000 that of 1970. For example, the annual consumption of meat and meat products rose during this period from 66 kilograms to approximately 90 kilograms. The total working time reductions implemented in these 10 years--including extended vacations and the "baby year"--are equivalent to the working time store of 1 million workers.

Thus, since our policy in the coming years will be oriented toward safeguarding and gradually improving the results achieved, the productive capacities of our national economy must be expanded considerably, as compared to the beginning of the 1970's. For example, the volume of industrial goods produced in 1970 in the course of the whole year must now be produced in approximately 6 months, and in the coming year, it must be produced in 5 months. The foreign trade turnover must increase 2.5-fold. This target must be met with the same number of workers, and the volume of energy and raw materials can be increased only slightly.

Naturally, there are other reasons why new demands are being made on economic management. From 1970 to 1979, the basic assets of the national

economy increased by M 220 billion, and in industry alone, by M 120 billion. The influence of science on the reproduction process has been growing considerably and the workers' level of education has been markedly raised; the number of university and technical college graduates has nearly doubled. The cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has reached a new level. This means that today continuous increases in production and in the efficiency of socially beneficial work can no longer be achieved with the means and methods that were sufficient at the time of the Eighth Party Congress.

New Situation

Another new factor is the aggravation of the international situation resulting from the aggressive policy pursued by the United States and other reactionary forces. The primary objective of this policy is by the mid-1980's to ensure the United States' military superiority over the Soviet Union and the superiority of NATO over the Warsaw Pact. Several goals are to be attained thereby. Above all, the reactionary forces aim at creating the conditions necessary for pursuing a policy of force and blackmail vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In this way, they want to regain unlimited control over the raw material and fuel resources of the developing countries and to reestablish the old power position of the United States in the framework of the capitalist world.

The socialist states seek to establish a military equilibrium and--through arms limitation and disarmament measure--to peg it at the lowest level possible. The Warsaw Pact states have made it perfectly clear that they can and will take any steps necessary to prevent--even under changed circumstances--any changes in the military equilibrium that would be to their disadvantage. It is clear, however, that this would require significant economic and scientific-technological capacities, that the struggle for peace and detente makes heavy demands on the productive capacity of the national economy.

For the GDR, there is yet another important aspect: The country is situated not only at the point of contact of the two social systems, but also at the borderline between the two great military alliances--NATO and the Warsaw Pact. At no other border is there a greater concentration of military forces than at the Western border of our country. Most of the nuclear weapons stationed by the United States in Europe are in the FRG. The FRG's Armed Forces are the strongest military force in capitalist Europe and the second strongest force in NATO. In 1979, NATO conducted manoeuvres at this border, in which a total of 260,000 troops participated. One need not be an expert to realize that at this border any provocation may lead to a military catastrophe. Thus, next to military security at this border, it is the GDR's political stability that is of primary importance for peace and security in Central Europe. In the long term, however, political stability cannot be ensured without economic and social stability. Economic and social stability in its turn is inconceivable without economic growth.

In other words, a policy that is oriented toward full employment, efficiency, growth and stability is in accord with the inner laws and requirements of socialist construction. Our New Year's policy also is a prerequisite for the preservation of peace in Europe. A successful policy aimed at developing the advanced socialist society must take these two requirements into consideration.

As is well known, the world economy has been experiencing great changes. As far as the development of non-ferrous industry is concerned, there are a number of problems that are of great importance. First important is the intensification of the extraction and the supply of raw materials (ensuring continuous economic development). In the course of the 1970's, the expenditures involved here increased extraordinarily. Thus a barrel of oil (100 liters) that in 1972 cost \$7.40 in the world market came today at an average of \$34. However, the prices of other raw materials have sharply increased as well. Moreover, expenditures on the domestic extraction, the cost involved in transport and production are steadily rising.

Facts and Possibilities

Thus we are confronted with two incontrovertible facts. In the 1980's, the cost of raw materials and fuel will continue to rise and in the coming years, we must raise about a specific growth rate of volume of raw materials and fuel that is unlikely to show any marked increase. In the past 70 years, the USSR's national income increased at an annual rate of approximately 5 percent. From 1971 to 1975, the volume of raw materials and fuel increased at an average annual rate of 3.7 percent; from 1976 to 1979, the increase amounted to approximately 2.3 percent, and obviously, to approximately 0.5 percent. In regard to raw materials and fuel, we must always keep in mind that they account for approximately 50 to 70 percent of the production costs and that they must for the most part be imported.

So how can we solve this problem? Our policy is oriented toward three points of main emphasis. Firstly, maximum utilization of our own resources, e.g., intensification of brown coal production. In regard to the procurement of raw materials and fuel, our long-term cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist economic integration, within the framework of CEMA are of crucial importance. Secondly, further intensification of the recycling of secondary raw materials. And thirdly, economical use of the available raw materials and fuel. This means above all extensive application of raw materials and fuel-saving technologies and maximum refinement. The difficulties of the situation lie in the fact that while there have emerged new problems in this connection, modern science and technology have opened up new ways of solving these problems. Thus extensive employment of microelectronics entails a reduction of material and energy input. So the acceleration of scientific-technological progress is the key to the solution of the problems in this field.

One of the changes affecting the world economy is the fact that all over the world scientific-technological progress has been accelerating and will continue to accelerate. In this respect, microelectronics, robot and computer technology and bio-technology are of great importance. These technologies have already brought about extensive structural changes of the world economy. The production processes are being rapidly transformed. The hitherto customary mechanical work principles are increasingly being replaced by electronic principles; material- and energy-saving technologies are becoming more and more prevalent; there is an obvious trend toward maximum improvement of raw materials and fuel, and extensive changes are taking place in the services sector and in office technology.

Dynamics Sets Standards

In many respects, our present world is undergoing radical change. It is a dynamic, very mobile world. In the 1980's, this change will be further accelerating. In this decade, the scientific-technological revolution and its extensive practical effects will obviously be approaching a new climax. Those who are not able to keep up with this process of change, those who are not able through their own efficiency to exert an influence on the rate and direction of the development in important sectors are bound to lose their standing in international life and above all in the world economy. Since the internationalization of economic life is steadily progressing, this is bound to have an effect on the internal development of every country, on the productive capacities and, naturally, on the standard of living.

At present, the GDR is allocating approximately 30 percent of the national income to foreign trade. Imports are absolutely essential for ensuring a sufficient supply of raw materials and fuel, for accelerating scientific-technological progress and for safeguarding a sufficient commodity supply. Very likely, this share will be increasing further. As is well known, in the last few years, the prices of raw materials and fuel--which account for most of our imports--have been increasing much more rapidly than the prices of finished goods--which account for most of our exports. This means that in order to ensure the imports required, we must every year increase our exports by several millions worth of goods.

Consideration of these problems naturally gives rise to the question how they can be solved and what we must do to be able--under these conditions--to ensure the further growth of the national economy, to maintain and gradually raise the standard of living. Indisputably, there is the desire to do all this. But what concrete possibilities are open to us?

[No 35, 31 Aug 80 p 10]

[Text] Capacities for Solving the Economic Problems

During the past decade, the conditions underlying the GDR's economic development have changed in many respects. These changes are quite different

In nature--some are positive and some are negative. On the one hand, the economic and scientific-technological capacities of the GDR have increased considerably and the cooperation within the framework of the socialist community has reached a new level; on the other hand, the international situation has been aggravated on account of the policy pursued by the United States and other imperialist forces, and the development of the world economy, the explosive rise in the prices of raw materials and fuel and the crisis of the capitalist world economy have given rise to new, great difficulties. On the one hand, the extraordinary acceleration of scientific-technological progress is making new, heavy demands on us; on the other hand, it is this acceleration that produces important tools, the efficient use of which makes it possible to solve many of the new economic problems.

In consideration of all these new conditions and of the resultant challenge to the economy and society of our country, the 11th and 12th Central Committee sessions concluded that in the coming years as well it will be possible to pursue the present policy of implementation of the principal task, i.e. the unification of economic and social policy. However, the development of the economy cannot be determined by subjective wishes. The crucial question is whether or not there are the concrete prerequisites, whether or not we have at our disposal the necessary capacities and reserves. This question can be answered in the affirmative. For such an increase in performance, for quantitative and qualitative growth under the new conditions, we can fall back on a solid material foundation.

Naturally, the question is what these capacities and possibilities consist in. In this context, we will discuss only the most important ones.

Four Good Reasons

Firstly, the GDR has great scientific capacities which in the course of the past decade have been significantly expanded. In the last 9 years alone, approximately M 50 billion were spent on research and development. During this period, the scientific potential of the national economy increased by approximately 43 percent. In the course of the present five-year plan, approximately 4.5 percent of the national income will be spent on research and development. If this amount is considered on a per-capita basis, the GDR occupies a leading position among the first five countries in the world. However, at its 11th session the SED Central Committee emphatically pointed out that the efficient and effective use of this potential falls far short of its possibilities. There is no doubt that elimination of this inconsistency will greatly stimulate growth.

Secondly: An extraordinarily high level of education has been attained in the GDR. Over 70 percent of all workers graduated from the 10-grade polytechnical high school and completed an apprenticeship program. During the last 10 years, the number of university and technical college graduates almost doubled. These graduates account for just under 17 percent of the total number of gainfully employed persons. Sociological studies and

practical experience have shown, however, that this educational potential has by no means been optimally utilized. Moreover, the subject matter of the training programs has not always been in accord with the requirements of scientific-technological progress. Undoubtedly, this high level of education represents one of our most valuable reserves for expanding the productive capacities of the national economy.

Thirdly: The GDR economy has at its disposal a huge stock of basic assets, i.e. machines, equipment and buildings. Since the Eighth Party Congress, these assets have been expanded by approximately M 220 billion and presently amount to M 686 billion. In the course of this expansion, the degree of automation was raised from 33 percent in 1970 to 47 percent in 1979. However, efficient utilization lags far behind this quantitative expansion of the basic assets of our economy. While in good GDR combines modern machines and equipment are in operation for at least 20 hours per day--which is in keeping with international standards--the GDR average during the first 6 months of 1980 was approximately 14.9 hours, and in many economic sectors and combines it was even lower. It is well known, however, that under conditions of optimal utilization the efficiency of modern technology increases rapidly.

A related factor is the effectiveness of investments. In this sector, the targets set by the current five-year plan will most likely be exceeded. However, only about 50 percent of the investments are directed toward rationalization. But in the interest of scientific-technological progress it is necessary considerably to increase this rationalization share and radically to curtail the construction share. In some countries, including the FRG, this share at times accounts for over 80 percent. Similar figures obtain in regard to the utilization of raw materials and energy and of the working time fund.

Fourthly: The increasingly close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represents a great potential for growth. Through this cooperation, we are assured a steady supply of raw materials and fuel (e.g. most of our oil imports). The agreed-upon target programs and the agreements of specialization and cooperation make possible the joint solution of important economic problems, acceleration of scientific-technological progress and improvement of efficiency. The last CEMA conferences have made it quite clear that considerable reserves for increased economic performance on the part of the participant countries have not yet been tapped. Thus for all the problems and contradictions that still exist, we can proceed from the assumption that we have at our disposal the concrete and especially the material prerequisites for attaining--even under the new conditions--that steady economic growth that is necessary for continuing the policy of implementation of the principal task.

Measures

The crucial problem is the question what we must do to be able actually to utilize these available reserves and significantly to improve the efficiency of work. Toward implementation of such a policy, important steps have been taken, only the most important of which can be mentioned in this context. A key project is the formation or reorganization of the combines so as to link science, research, production and marketing in a new way so that the focus will be on the improvement of efficiency as a crucial source of growth. The results of the economic development during the first 6 months of 1980 show that this policy is beginning to take effect.

Significant changes in the management and planning system have been initiated. Great importance is attached to the efforts to emphasize--along with the quantitative expansion--the qualitative factors, especially in connection with material motivation. In the investment sector, important measures have been taken that are intended to increase investment effectiveness. There can be no doubt that the implementation of the performance principle is a key problem.

For some time, a large number of enterprises, combines and scientific institutions have been engaged in implementing a program for the development and application of microelectronics and of robot and computer technology.

The impending University Conference will concern itself with the problem of establishing a closer link between the universities and technical colleges and the world of practical work. The Party, the state management organs and the initiatives of the socialist enterprises and workers will continue to focus their attention on the task of finding ways and means of translating the available potential and possibilities into increased economic efficiency and productive capacity. The challenge of the 1980's is bound up with a great many intellectual problems. The actual development has confirmed the statement contained in the SED Program, namely that the development of the advanced socialist society is a process involving radical political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. The first conclusion to be drawn from this is that the view, according to which the continuing socialist construction is a smooth, simple process free from inconsistencies, is more than ever at variance with Marxist-Leninist conceptions and with practical experience. The development of advanced socialism is an extremely dynamic process. Of necessity, both the internal and the international development lead to ever new questions, problems and tasks of various kinds. This involves--again of necessity--certain contradictions. Thus it is necessary continuously to resolve contradictions, with new contradictions arising constantly. For example, the increasingly important role of science in the production process and the transition from extensive to predominantly intensive reproduction have led to a situation where the hitherto customary structure of organization and a number of hitherto successful management methods are at variance with the new requirements. The rising level of education is inconsistent with the fact that some of the modern technologies

entail a great deal of monotonous work.

Naturally, this gives rise to the question what attitude we are going to adopt vis-a-vis these dynamics and the contradictions involved. Are we going to view this process as extraordinary, as disturbing the "quiet", as a morally defective process or as the normal form of socialist development? As Marxists-Leninists, we can only view it as a normal form of social development.

Intellectual-Moral Sources of the Will To Produce

In the last few years, the dialectics of internal and international development has been attracting more and more attention and has increasingly become part of the realm of practical work. Theoretically, it has always been justified and recognized that--in keeping with the character of our age--the struggle between the two systems determines the international development and that this struggle is hard and inexorable. But obviously it makes a big difference whether one recognizes this fact in both theory and practice and acts accordingly or whether one is surprised about the fact that practice is in accord with this theoretical insight.

Today it is obvious that the growth of the GDR economy, its increased productive capacity is of great importance in the international arena, that accomplishment of the tasks involved here is an important contribution in the struggle for peace and security in Europe.

In contrast to any other society, the productive capacity of the socialist economy is based on the working people's performance and will to produce. As Marx and Engels pointed out, the performance principle is a basic law of the economic and social development of socialism. Practical experience has shown that the mental attitude, the willingness to produce outstanding results for the socialist society is one of the most important driving forces of the socialist society. This is all the more true, since we have attained a high standard of living and a high level of social security. In high degree, the quantitative and qualitative growth of our economy is presently determined by the intense will to produce on the part of millions of workers.

Naturally, we must keep asking ourselves whether inside and outside of our educational system, in the intellectual life, in the art and culture of our republic all possibilities are being exploited so as to encourage such an attitude toward outstanding achievements, whether indifferent conduct in this regard is indifferently accepted or whether it meets with resolute criticism.

Once scientific-technological progress and its effective application have become the key to economic development, there naturally arises the question how important science is to the workers, what their mental attitude is toward its results and possibilities. It goes without saying that this is

not a matter of theoretical explanations, but of the role of science in the realm of everyday work. The broad, effective application of new scientific findings in all sectors of the economy largely depends on an appropriate attitude. It is the attitude that determines whether or not there is an atmosphere of scientific creativity, a creative climate which represents an important foundation for new insights.

On the basis of these few questions, we can state without exaggeration that there exists now--more than ever--a complex, close interaction between the economic tasks and the intellectual realm. The correct structuralization of these interrelationships is one of the key prerequisites for the solution of those problems that in the 1980's are bound up with the further development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR.

0750

CSO: 2300

PRO-CCP ORGAN INTERVIEWS BIELINSKI, WALESA ON UNION EFFORT

SOLIDARNOSC'S Konrad Bieliniski Interviewed

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 17-23 Oct 80 p 1

[Report on interview with Konrad Bieliniski]

[Text] In the middle of work on the SOLIDARNOSC, the newspaper of Poland's free trade union, the telephone message arrives: Czeslaw Milosz has won the Nobel Prize!

One of the newspaper editors has double reason to be happy. Konrad Bieliniski is also one of the editors of the underground publishing house NOWA. Only NOWA has published the banned Polish author in his home country.

Konrad Bieliniski is one example of how closely the politically oppositional intellectuals work with the new trade union. Bieliniski was the one who wrote the first issue of SOLIDARNOSC, under supervision by the leaders of the workers. The issue was published on the fourth day of the strike, at the end of September.

That work has borne fruit for Bieliniski. Now comes the next reward. The underground company will get its Nobel Prize winner. What a triumph for those who have worked long and hard to spread free speech in Poland!

"In 14 days we will publish our 100th book," Konrad Bieliniski says. "The first one came in 1977. Editions are between 2,000 and 4,000 copies."

"Milosz is banned in Poland. No one knows who he is. In 1948-50 he was the cultural attache at the Polish Embassy in Paris. Then in 1950 he published a book which was critical of the treatment of intellectuals in Poland. He was called a traitor and defected.

Konrad Bieliniski speaks of the persecutions which have made life difficult for NOWA.

"Previously we had semi-secret selling places, about 20 in Warsaw and in other parts of the country. But the security police came and confiscated the books."

"This is why we have gone over to another system. Instead, we announce a number of people who sell the books. Then people can call us and order a book. We then arrange a meeting in some place and deliver the book."

"In this way we never have more than one book with us. The remainder of the books is hidden."

Economically, the Nobel Prize means nothing to NOWA.

"But it gives us a lot of self-satisfaction," Konrad Bielinski concludes.

Customs Seize Printing Press

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 17-23 Oct 80 pp 2,3

[Article by Thomas Kanger: "Polish Customs Took Their Printing Press"]

[Text] Stop! Customs!

The one in military uniform stares grimly at us when we submit our papers.

As he reads his facial expression undergoes a complete change. His eyes open wide and his chin drops.

"Get the chief," he shouts.

We have arrived with a van full of offset printing presses for the free trade union in Gdansk, Poland.

The machines are a gift from the trade unions in Oslo, because the free trade union in Poland had specifically asked for printing equipment.

But the Norwegians had trouble with the visa. In a roundabout way I was asked if I could help with the transportation.

The car was driven from Oslo by Ewa Orlowski, a Swedish woman born in Poland and residing in Oslo. She is active in the Norwegian municipal workers' union.

I hitched on in Stockholm.

At Nynashamn we caught the ferry to Gdansk. The problem was to get the machines into the country. The strategy was that I would drive the car and Ewa would disembark in order to meet Piotr, a trade union man who would be waiting.

We decide that both of us will ride in the car, however. The questions will come anyway and we have enough to explain to the authorities.

Now all other cars are allowed to go around us while the "chief" and a security policeman bring Ewa into a room. Piotr is nowhere to be seen.

The last ones to pass through customs -- besides us -- are three motorcyclists. I ask them to drive to the trade union headquarters and alert them.

But they are afraid to.

Ewa returns. The authorities are going to call the capital, Warsaw, in order to get instructions concerning the cargo and us.

After yet another hour we find out that customs will confiscate the machines. The trade unions have not yet been approved, is the formal reason.

Everything in the car is lifted out. Inside the customs building every box is opened and everything is recorded, down to each individual plastic bottle and tube of paint.

We make contact with Piotr, who is anxiously following what goes on.

Two hours later everything is finished. The machines and all accessories are stowed in a room which is sealed.

The Trade Union Headquarters

We are allowed to continue into Gdansk, however. In the morning of the next day, last Thursday, we drove down to the trade union headquarters at Grunwaldska Street, in the center of Gdansk.

The house has several stories and banners and Polish flags attached to the balconies. Down at street level information and pictures are glued to the wall. There is always a cluster of interested people.

Once upstairs in the building we end up at the office for propaganda. One by one the trade union functionaries read the typed list of what customs have seized.

Great commotion. It is believed that it is a matter of time before the trade union will get the machines out.

We soon understand what these printing presses mean to the union. We get to see the equipment they now work with. At the same time this provides a good picture of the conditions under which the trade union is working.

In a locked room at the headquarters two men sit at a table. On the table is a pad of printing ink under a glued-down cloth. On top of the cloth is a stencil.

One of the men places a sheet of paper on top of the stencil. The other one pulls a rubber roller over the paper. In this way thousands and thousands of leaflets are "printed."

Secret Printing Shop

In another, secret, place is the collected machinery of the union. It consists of two run-down stencil machines.

Two workers are printing today's SOLIDARNOSC, SOLIDARITY, the trade union newspaper. It consists of a folded quarto sheet.

The two are named Leszek Zborowski and Kazik Zabczynski. They are both among the true foot-soldiers of the union and have participated in and worked for the cause for a few years.

"In 1978 a leadership group of 6-7 shipyard workers was formed," says Leszek, who is a trained mason. The leaders were Lech Walesa, Anna Walentynowicz, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda and Andrzej Gwiazda. These are the ones who are now at the head of the free trade union.

"The two of us belonged to a subgroup. Our duties were to, for example, paint slogans on the walls and to distribute leaflets."

The distribution of leaflets did not function as in Sweden.

"We got up at 0400 hours in the morning in order to distribute to those who took the streetcar to work. We were always afraid of being caught by the police. That meant -- at best -- 48 hours' detention."

"At the same time we were afraid to lose the leaflets. A great deal of work has gone into those sheets, as you can see. We couldn't very well throw them away."

"There were also a lot of police checks at my home," Leszek recounts.

"The most important task was to fight for people's rights, however. People knew us, we functioned as contact persons for the trade union. In this way we learned about the injustices committed against people and we were able to help them. In this manner confidence was built."

In the morning of the day the strike at the Lenin Shipyard began, Leszek and Kazik distributed leaflets about the harassment of Anna Walentynowicz. These events were the spark. The first shift went on strike and the other shifts followed suit.

"During the strike our task was to print information," Kazik says.

Continued Struggle!

Now they are not quite as harassed as before, although the free trade union has not yet been formally approved. But the free union in Poland is a fact. It gives workers such as Leszek and Kazik the opportunity to avoid having the police at their heels.

"But we haven't won yet," Leszek says. "Right now those at the top of the party are arguing about how they should act. In 1 month they must decide. This is why it is important that people have the strength to continue struggling. We must keep our heads above water, otherwise we will have to fight for another 30 years in order to get where we are today."

I ask if they think the Russians will come if the trade union continues its struggle for freedom.

"All the good things we have come from the Russians," Leszek says ironically and laughs. "No, I don't think the Russians will come now. But if in their eyes things go too far they will certainly come. We have to go forward in small steps."

"But," says Leszek, "I would rather live for 5 minutes with my head held high than a lifetime on my knees."

Walesa: Government 'Sabotage' Attempts

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 17-23 Oct 80 pp 2,3

[Report on interview with Lech Walesa by Thomas Kanger: "It would Be Strange If the Authorities Did Not Sabotage Us"]

[Text] "He can see you now."

The whole thing happens so quickly that I don't have time to get nervous. Through the throng of people we are funneled into a small office at the end of a corridor.

Sunk deep in a chair behind a desk, there he sits, the legendary strike leader and newly elected chairman of Poland's free trade union -- Lech Walesa.

There are two other people in the little room. One is Walesa's personal bodyguard. The other one is his closest coworker, a worker in his fifties or sixties who looks as if he has made at least a couple of round trips to the salt mines of Siberia.

Lech Walesa gets up and kisses Ewa Orlowski's hand. He is content to shake mine forcefully.

I begin by congratulating him on his successes. He waves it away.

"No congratulations are needed," he says. "There is much we have not accomplished. The authorities have been forced to agree to our demands, the 21 points. They have promised us this, but as yet no item has been completely accomplished. Some demands have been fulfilled in certain parts or half-fulfilled."

"But," Walesa says, "it would be strange if the authorities didn't sabotage us."

"The 1-hour strike on 3 October was a means of pressure to achieve the demands. We also have other effective means that can be used at the places of work in the country. And then I sit here in my chair and work, of course."

Lech Walesa laughs. He is very cordial the whole time and jokes a lot. It is even difficult to get him to give serious answers.

Delegations

"We have much left, but the struggle has been easier than I anticipated," he says.

A large group of people comes through the door. These are older workers from another part of Poland. A delegation which is to meet with Walesa. He talks with them for a few minutes, then out they go again.

All the time people enter and interrupt. If it isn't visitors it is colleagues or Walesa's secretary, a toothless older woman.

I get help from the bodyguard to conclude the interview. He tries to quiet the people in the room. I ask how many members the trade union has today.

"I don't know," Walesa says. "We don't have a calculator."

He laughs again.

I turn around and fish out my mini-calculator from the jacket pocket. I hand it to Walesa. As a present.

Walesa is thrilled and asks for instructions. Then he pulls out photos of himself and the Pope and signs them. He hands over the pictures, hugs me and tells Ewa to take a picture.

Then it's Ewa's turn to be photographed and Walesa kisses her cheek as I press the button.

After that the interview becomes orderly.

Organizational Problems

"We have 8-10 million members," he says. "It is difficult for the organization to take care of everyone. But since they want to belong they are of course welcome."

"So far everyone is part of the same organization. We will gradually divide the organization into several smaller ones. The salaried employees separately, various professional categories among the workers separately. This will take 1 to 2 years."

"We have organizational problems. We look up to the unions in Scandinavia and want positive criticism and help from them."

Lech Walesa says that the economic situation for the workers had deteriorated in the last few years. It has become much worse in the last few months alone. Right now potatoes can hardly be found.

The average worker's wage is 5,000 zloty a month. That is 700-800 [Swedish] crowns, according to the normal rate of exchange. On the black market you get 5,000 zloty for only 200 crowns.

The members of the free trade union pay one percent of their wages to the trade union, Walesa tells me. Thirty percent of the dues will go for administration of the union, the remainder to the workers in various forms.

Poland Needs Help

I ask what role the old party-controlled trade unions are playing today. He waves his hands.

"They don't exist for me," he says.

How does the economic situation in the country affect the opportunities for realizing the demands?

"It is clear to me that Poland's economic situation is difficult. The country needs help in order to cope with it."

Walesa doesn't want to comment on the latest events at the top of the party. But to the question of what role the political opposition plays, he replies:

"We work together with the Workers' Defense Committee, KOR. We use some of their members in the work. It is good for the trade union and this is what we will continue to do."

What will happen next in the struggle?

"We will continue to strike for our demands. But it is wrong as has been written in the Western newspapers that we will go on strike on 20 October."

We have given the authorities that date as a deadline. Then we will take a stand on what we intend to do if they don't keep their promises."

When I ask about the Russian threat, he at first replies evasively.

"I don't see them either," he says.

Then he leans forward and says:

"I don't believe they will come. To begin with, it is we who maintain order in Poland. We don't disturb the Russians. Second, we have too much support abroad for them to dare."

New groups of people enter the room.

The interview ends by itself. When Lech Walesa says goodbye to us my eyes fall on his lapels. On one lapel he has a picture of a Catholic saint. On the other a button with a U.S. and a Polish flag.

How else would the coat lapels of a Polish labor leader look?

11949

CSO: 3109

BEREZOWSKI COMMENTS ON DUPLICITY OF WEST'S POLICY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Aug 80 p 6

[Article by M. Berezowski: "Detente and West European Strategy: Destructive Duplicity"]

[Text] No one today needs to be persuaded that the dialog between the USSR and the United States is of fundamental importance to world security, just as it is not necessary to explain that of late the Americans are maintaining an aloofness in this regard. Thus it is increasingly important that lines of communication with Western Europe be kept open. Nevertheless, the duplicity in the policies of many West European countries is obvious. While maintaining an East-West dialog, they are also expanding their military operations.

As a result of the United States' interruption of dialog with the Soviet Union after the events in Afghanistan and the strong words directed towards the USSR during the American elections campaign, a distinct cooling in international relations has taken place. Under these circumstances, particular advantages to the detente structure existing in Europe appeared. Promotion of cooperation between both parts of the continent and maintenance of contact between governments had a positive influence on the situation.

The West European countries tried to convince Washington that obvious differences in viewpoints and interests should not block the path to a search for a way out of the impasse, to discussions and gradual agreements. When their arguments were rejected, they undertook a series of measures, with which their American ally reluctantly agreed. The meetings of France's president and the FRG's chancellor with the head of the USSR played a constructive role, as Leonid Brezhnev emphasized in his talks with leaders of the socialist countries.

The Credits

The USSR proposal on negotiations regarding the missile arsenal in Europe, which aroused Western interest, improved the climate of the Vienna talks

on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. It is possible that a serious discussion on strategic weapons will begin when the United States elections are over.

Many West European countries would like to see the fall meeting in Madrid, which will be attended by the CSCE countries, i.e., 33 European countries, the United States and Canada, conducted in an atmosphere of calm deliberation. Efforts are being made to avert heated confrontations and to make this meeting the start of an expanded dialog.

There is talk in Western Europe about arranging a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. This coincides with a similar proposal which, as is known, emanated from the socialist countries. Poland suggests that the conference be held in Warsaw.

Some West European countries also put forth ideas in an attempt to change the American position. They advise acceptance of a broader plan of participation in negotiations on the subject of stabilization in the Near East and rejection of military solutions on Iran. They oppose the United States' deeper involvement in military supplies for China and warn against an abrupt playing of the "China card" against the USSR.

This is one column of the policy account of Western Europe, the "credits" column.

The Liabilities

On the "debits" side, the list is long.

Although many West European countries are concerned about whether they acted correctly at the NATO Council session last December in accepting the American proposal for forming a European strategic nuclear arsenal, the necessary preliminary work is underway. Although Holland and Belgium are wavering on whether to accept "Cruise" missiles on their land, because the NATO decision threatens a new arms race in Europe, other countries have assured the United States of their readiness to fulfill these resolutions.

The first to do this was the British government, creating a precedent being utilized by the originators of the new atomic system. Also, despite strenuous objections from the Labourites, this government has placed orders in the United States for the "Trident" underwater long-range missiles which will be placed on British ships. The purchases of "Tridents," replacing the "Polaris" missiles, will greatly increase Great Britain's nuclear capability. Even before this decision was made, the government increased its military operations: in 1979, the British military budget increased six percent, i.e., almost double in relation to growth of these expenditures in other European NATO countries.

The Acrobatics Requirement

The FRG government stipulated that it would accept American strategic missiles if at least one other NATO country in continental Europe did likewise. In view of Italy's readiness, this condition is not difficult to meet. Also, the FRG expanded its military involvement outside Europe.

First, FRG naval forces appeared on the Indian Ocean, assisting U.S. naval patrols. Second, on the basis of the NATO agreement, it will greatly extend its range of operations: heretofore the Bundesmarine did not operate beyond a 24-hour navigation distance from the Baltic straits. Now the FRG fleet will extend its operation range on the North Atlantic to the coast of Iceland, the Shetland Islands and Greenland. Third, the West European Union lifted restrictions on warship tonnages, placed on the FRG after World War II.

France, which since 1966 has not been a party to the military organization of the Atlantic Alliance but has cooperated with it, has begun to modernize and strengthen its nuclear capability. We learned recently that work on neutron weapons has reached an advanced stage, although no decision has been made as to whether these weapons will be used by the French armed forces.

Thus we have a situation in which many West European countries are concerned (to different degrees, of course) about the vitality of the fiber of political detente, while at the same time, using the increase in Warsaw Pact forces as a justification and often without regard to it, they are increasing their armaments and strategic operations on a broad scale.

A highly destructive duplicity results: the same governments which participate in the policy of detente, pull Europe backwards in the strategic field. Maintaining a security balance under these conditions requires acrobatic skills, but it is obvious that acrobatics cannot be perpetual.

9295

CSO: 2600

CULTURAL PROBLEMS VIEWED IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

Poznan GAZETA ZACHODNIA in Polish 19, 20, 21 Sep 80 p 3

[Conversation with Feliks Fornalczyk, first secretary of the [POP] Primary Party Organization at the Poznan branch of the Union of Polish Writers, conducted by Z. Beryt: "Citizens' Concern over the Development of Socialist Culture"]

[Text] A great heated discussion continues throughout Poland with unabated force. The reform of the Republic is spoken of in all circles. The causes of the crisis are analyzed with the greatest zeal and are the subject of the most frequent discussion among the working class, particularly the working class concentrated in large centers of the key industries, who, at the same time, propose solutions to be incorporated immediately into life, through honest work, above all. But artistic circles are also making their deposit in the general bank of Polish thought.

The Poznan literary environment is not an exception in this process. What are the major directions of discussion? What in particular arouses the unrest and concern of the Poznan writers? What is the subject of their most important demands? These are the questions I put before Feliks Fornalczyk, literary critic, essayist and publicist who serves in the capacity of first secretary of the [POP] Primary Party Organization at the Poznan branch of the Union of Polish Writers. I shall present the crucial questions discussed in our long, frank conversation.

Problems in various aspects of our communal life have many times been the subject of discussions during meetings of the POP of the Poznan literary circle. In addition, for many years proposals, demands and suggestions based on our attempts at analysis have been formulated and may be found in the minutes of our meetings and other party documents. In each instance we relayed them to higher officials and state authorities. Unfortunately, most of them had no effect. Perhaps the opinion of such a small circle was not taken into consideration because it was thought that it was not representative...A significant number of the issues raised by us on various occasions have resurfaced recently with greater intensity. This has occurred because the working class has raised them, particularly the working class concentration in large industrial plants on the coast.

This great complex of issues of which the circle of party and nonparty writers in Poznan spoke with concern has been the subject, of course, of literary questions and books, but it has also encompassed questions of the state of the economy, market supply and guaranteeing the suitable means of subsistence for every working family, as well as for pensioners and retired employees. We have observed with

concern the symptoms of uneconomical management and waste, as well as the growing indebtedness of the nation to foreign countries, the sometimes senseless purchase of investment equipment and licenses for industrial products, which have not brought about the anticipated improvement in the economic and social status of the nation.

As the crisis symptoms have increased, various fields of intellectual and artistic life have become more and more limited, including the status of books and the social position of their authors. Of course, this does not mean that in the area of culture we have not recorded endeavors of lasting value. But real degradation, pushing cultural matters and needs into a corner, has been an increasing issue. Relevant demands issuing from an awareness of the situation and linked with the development of various fields of artistic and intellectual endeavor have been relegated to the sphere of promises or have found their way into file folders in various oversized desks in offices.

It is enough to call attention to the example of even the average number of books per inhabitant of Poland, which, according to comparative counts, puts our country in last place among socialist countries. Pertinent resolutions of the highest party unit and promises of the ministry projecting a reduction in the distance separating Poland from other countries of our camp have, unfortunately, not been implemented.

Recent difficulties connected with the economic crisis and with the lack of possibility to purchase paper and other raw materials indispensable for the production of books (paints, varnishes, and the like) have stood in the way of the improvement of our position in the field of book production. To this may be added the catastrophic state of the Polish printing base, for example, in Poznan. For years together with the Poznan printers and publishers we have demanded the erection of a new printing firm in our city; thus far our efforts have been fruitless.

Added to the problem with paper is the continuing irrational management of it. It is well known that the small portion of raw materials designated for the printing of literature which is at the disposal of the Ministry of Culture and Art is in use by other ministries. Accordingly, taking into consideration the matter of the limited quota of paper, we are led to the implementation of the demands of the circle, which aims at the establishment of priorities for those fields of writing which rest on the assumption that the workings of culture and the intellectual life are necessary. Thus, the priorities should be school and academic textbooks, indispensable readings in the process of teaching, and guaranteeing the development of literary production and temporarily practiced literature. The problem of the selection of titles to be published is also important. We cannot have bookstores out of reprints of the classics and the works of contemporary authors which have passed inspection, as well as dictionaries, encyclopedias, and synthetic studies.

Within the circle of writers, the question of the various kinds of censorship applied by the Administration of Inspection of Publications and Spectacles has been undertaken for many years. It is well known that this very question was quite clearly elaborated in the texts of the agreements concluded by the government representatives and the striking workers of the coastal cities. We also spoke of

the problem of censorship more than once at party and union meetings at the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] branch. We presented examples of nonsensical interference into artistic texts. We called attention to the fact that such fields, for example, as literary criticism or the history of contemporary literature are simply impossible to pursue as a result of the seal of silence on several contemporary currents of the literature of our country, and on several names of authors of the older and younger generation. And these limitations have encompassed disputes about the complex of subjects and events of several decades of the contemporary history of our country.

Thus, the status of the author who would have liked to treat various problems of our social and political life which are essential to our history in his writings is not an enviable one...Even though the call has gone out in official pronouncements to the creators of literature to deal with contemporary subjects and to treat political themes--which have had practically no opportunity to appear in print. The literary circle has even been subject to criticism on this account. But the critics have not taken into consideration the real imponderables of the workings of the contemporary literary life of our country.

Thus the complex of problems to which we devoted many hours of discussion at the last meeting of our primary party organization is not a set of new problems. I should once again like to emphasize the fact that we have been speaking of these problems with growing intensity and concern for many years, and that our demands in this area remained without an echo.

The system of guarantees which has been spoken of recently in all vocational environments of our country also creates the hope for the writers of our region that these demands will soon see their constructive and fruitful resolution. This is important for the cultural good of the nation, taken in its best sense, as well as for the stabilization of the moods which we observe anxiously in various workers' environments.

It is for this reason that, in the course of our discussion in the circle of party writers of Poznan, we have concentrated our attention on the indispensable elements for guaranteeing social stability. One problem relative to this is the honest and unprocrastinating attitude of state officials to the legal proceedings which are now taking place in the realm of the formation of new trade and artistic unions. Another is the problem of the creation of conditions for reliable information in the means of mass communication and of the facilitation of the possibilities for the exchange of thought on the pages of periodicals by the broader range of people given over to questions of the socialist future of our country. In the case of the Poznan circle, this relates, e.g., to the improvement of conditions of the publication of one of our sociocultural periodicals, NURT. Finally a third, extraordinarily essential point, the matter of the necessity of broadening the role of lower party organizations and the voices of the member masses and of changing the attitude to their demands and criticisms once and for all. This leads us finally to one proposition: to a reduction in the distance between the basic organizations and party units at the higher levels.

JOURNALISTS' AGGRESSIVE QUESTIONING CRITICIZED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Petar Jovic: "The 'Bravery' of Newsmen's Caviling Questions"]

[Text] In Yugoslavia's field of journalism and public life one can recognize what might be called the circle of so-called brave newsmen. In conversations in which they put questions these "brave" newsmen of ours--who will be our topic here--actually want to prove that all the others are mute, pusillanimous, frightened and scared, that they "do not know" or "do not dare" to put the "right" questions.

Since we are talking about "well-informed" individuals--newsmen, they know "something else"--that foreign newsmen are "freer" and do not hold back from putting even "the most sensitive" questions.

And now these "heroes" of ours would like--directly and by their counter-example--to cast aspersions on those who put "pointless" questions. Since they are "ours," "natives," but, of course, above the average, brilliant and the like in both knowledge and bravery, they will put those questions which on the basis of the state of affairs in the past we might expect only from foreigners. What is the purpose and what is the objective significance of questions in these "frank," "free," "exhaustive," and "agreeable" conversations of the "former" and similar kind?

Not to dispute certain contributions to the processes of demystifying various phenomena, functions and tasks, relations among people and social groups, we must state clearly at the outset: it is incomprehensible that such questions could appear at all in our public media. After all, they are foreign in the true sense of that word both in view of their purpose, their character and their undertones as well as in their number. They are foreign above all in their recognizability and at times even by their aggressive bourgeois or liberalistic commitment. This is unquestionably the most general description that can be applied to all the examples we have in mind.

How otherwise to understand questions which are persistently put, which vary in the variety of follow-up questions, and in which actually theses and theories are set forth whose origin and purpose we are aware of? For example, that every nationalism is not equally dangerous, that there are those "nationalistic actions" which have been more dangerous than others? Or the "question" about the different inclinations of the various religions toward the development of socialist self-management? Exploration of the essential differences in the behavior of the various churches in particular intervals of our more recent history. These "questions" contain a plea for a differentiated approach to the various nationalities (!?), and the "courage" does not fudge even when the conclusion is framed (!): "Does that mean that we therefore must be tolerant in a way toward nationalism?"

Tones of an Orchestra

Such questions undoubtedly represent the most serious case, but we should emphasize that they are only one of several examples we are referring to. That is, somewhat milder questions have been published in certain of our periodicals and have been (even with some answers) the subject of public criticism. We emphasize, our criticism pertains to all of them, to all the questions of the "brave" newsmen in which there is recognizable that same liberalistic and bourgeois tendency of refractoriness, of privatization of newspapers, of banalization and vulgarization of serious social issues, of experimentation with the past and of hypothesizing the future, and so on. Hand in hand with this goes the reckless pursuit of larger circulation, cheap popularity, paid for, of course, with society's expensive money, and of easy earnings. It is in this, then, that our quasinewsman actually go "furthest," and not in bravery, knowledge, eloquence and resourcefulness, as they suppose and believe. The varying intensities of this tendency and the tones produced by this orchestra, the seeking of shelter behind various institutions and the use of positions on newspapers cannot conceal the essential intonation that runs through it all. We, of course, do not doubt for a moment the good intentions of some of these "newsmen," but we are pointing to the objective significance of their caviling questions.

It is well known that in spite of such far-reachingness, garrulousness and bravery, those true, essential and if you like even sensitive questions of our society find no place in the notebook of our newsmen, that is, they never occur to them.

Though here we are analyzing only the questions, that is, the motives and aims of the "fearless" newsmen, we should say that the answers to these and similar caviling questions are by and large correct. We can also understand the readiness of those they are interviewing to enter into an exhaustive and obviously provocative conversation, but we would mention that it is not difficult to conclude that they were unable to resist the aggressive "newsmen" and to calm down their vehemence.

The answers given by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which have been given by all our progressive forces, concerning relations between the nationalities, concerning the sources of nationalism and other delegate questions, are, as is well known, axioms of our reality, of our community life, of our present and of our future. This, of course, does not mean that there is nothing left to talk about concerning them. But certainly not with questions of that kind, which are provocative to say the least.

Threshold of Inside Knowledge

It is certain that we need more conversations, that we must both as newsmen and other public figures learn quite a bit more, both how to converse and how to ask questions and also how to listen carefully to the person we are talking to, how to give him an occasion to speak, to elucidate his ideas. But those questions which are referred to as the most delicate undoubtedly require a more open and broader discussion. That kind of discussion, however, is not only desirable, but it is indeed a reality of our authentic and deep democratic processes.

Some questions can, of course, be examined more broadly and frankly even in interviews or conversations, and there is nothing unclear about that. That is, in criticizing certain questions we do not wish to diminish the value of interviews in general and to dispute the important place they have in news activity as a whole.

Aside from the essential and meaningful aspects we have talked about, the questions in the interviews that go "the furthest" strive to break records even in their length and not merely to cross what have in the past been the thresholds of inside knowledge (authentic) and courage. What is the basis of the frightening number of these questions? This "unfortunate long-windedness" is an expression and a result of the ambition of the "bold" newsman to have the last word himself, to use his questions to state, construct and round out his own theory, his own vision, to extort from the person he is interviewing at least some sort of confirmations of his own theses.

What is the objective meaning of questions in which more nationalism of a more dangerous variety is sought first in the smaller ethnic groups? When an affirmative answer is not forthcoming, this extra amount is sought in the economically less developed, and this formula is suggested: the lower the level of development, the more nationalism there is, and then to drag in the epithet of the "deprived" ethnic group. Sometimes the attribute "primitivism" turns up. All of this, however, is not enough, and other ways are used, by a series of follow-up questions, to check out assertions that the large nationalities, those which are more advanced and more civilized, carry a smaller burden of nationalism. It is a question, then, of making certain in any case, of checking out the thing from several angles.

"Privileged Positions"

Though it is not our purpose to enter in polemics with those questions and to expose their objective significance by citing the judgments and positions of the LCY, that is, of the theoreticians and strategists of our socialist revolution concerning relations between the nationalities, we will recall that in examining the large differences in economic development of the various parts of Yugoslavia E. Kardelj did among other things point out the nationalistic tendency behind the "privileged positions of this or that ethnic group." Kardelj warned of the harmfulness and danger of a tendency "that would attempt to conserve differences in level of development of the various regions of Yugoslavia or to underestimate them and leave them to spontaneous development." The socialist forces must combat with ideological and political means all forms of nationalism and chauvinism, and also, within that same framework, Kardelj said, "nationalistic and other egoistic tendencies that arise ... in the advanced republics and aspirations for privileged economic positions...."

Our readers are not unaware as to which nationalities in the Yugoslav context are "large" and which are "small," nor are they unaware of whose arsenal uses the descriptions "primitive" and "deprived."

The prurience and curiosity that use the terminology of those forces which cannot reconcile themselves to our theory and practice in the domain of relations among the nationalities cannot lead us to any sort of clarification or to anything good.

Our "knights without fault or fear" even go out of their way to suggest the notion that opportunism has more to do with the former revolutionaries who "have set out on the road of nationalism or chauvinism" than deep personal belief! Who is this supposed to justify? Does the essence of the thing lie in that? Against whom and whose judgments is this kind of polemics directed?

"Advocates and Adherents"

Why do the questions of certain "brave" and eloquent newsmen in Yugoslavia represent a false bravery, why are they defective? It has to do with nationalities and relations among them, and they insist on the question as to where there is more and where there is less nationalism. We cannot avoid the conclusion, then, that some are being accused and others defended either intentionally or involuntarily, but recognizably. In both cases, however, this is unacceptable as a tendency and especially as a position. This is a distorted approach to the nationality, since its point of departure is that of those members of the nationality who, as we know, are working most directly against its real interests.

Moreover, no nationality needs advocates and adherents who want to argue that that nationality has less nationalism. On the other hand, it is unacceptable in any manner and for whatever purpose, even though it be a desire

to make the interview "frank," "more interesting," and the like, to examine relations among the nationalities exclusively in terms of their negative characteristics, that is, in terms of the bad side.

It is also incomprehensible that the concepts of economic equality and community spirit never crop up in such questions. Yet there is no accident in this, and this is the best proof of the unhistorical, metaphysical and bourgeois approach to the sources of nationalism. This kind of curiosity and caviling questions about relations among the nationalities and about the sources and forms that nationalism takes obviously sees nothing relevant in questions concerning interest--economic, cultural and others--of the working class, about the struggle for socialism, for socialist self-management, for equality, particularly economic, and about the resistance that is being offered concerning these matters.

"Peeking at the Past"

Even with respect to certain purely external features the questions in the these interviews are petit or more accurately grand bourgeois. It is no accident at all that expressions turn up in the questions like "poking around," "peeking at the past," "what would happen if," and the like. In the face of cautions by those they are interviewing, our "brave" men continue with undiminished persistence to vary their questions and their theses concerning certain social topics. Embittered by numerous "incompetents," "scaredy cats," "cowards," and the like in the past, and obsessed by their own "resourcefulness" and "courage," they make an assault with their questions and do not give up even when the possible serious adverse consequences are made known to them.

The true source of their loquaciousness and curiosity, their undisguised intention to "get under the skin" of the person they are interviewing, and through him certain others as well, is certainly not always and exclusively of a personal, egoistic or even a professional, news-gathering, journalistic or other similar nature. In essence and objectively it is sometimes a question of revivals of bourgeois consciousness which in this way is attempting to nourish itself and of a tendency to turn back not only the debate, but even time, history, at least by poking around and going on about imaginary experiments with the past and by posing problems of the future in a manner that is barely disguised.

Since the sources that favor the survival and reproduction of bourgeois consciousness are still a reality that cannot be eliminated, it is also certain that the "noble" mission of the "courageous" newsmen does not go without a certain quiet applause. Their task is not at all easy, that is very clear and evident. After all, they are not "toiling" just for themselves. They are performing a substantial part of the job and taking the place of possible curious foreigners, but also on behalf of our internal and domestic foreigners, whose unfamiliarity with certain things in the development of this society and whose questions and whose caviling--contrary

to the theses of their spokesmen--are not psychological and are not aimed at obtaining knowledge, but are above all of a political nature.

The essential motivation and interest of the loquaciousness, curiosity, resourcefulness, and "courage" of our quasinewsman is, then, petty political activity, paternalism and the role of a self-styled guardian angel. The common denominator and headline that runs over all these questions might be, to put it most mildly: beyond all measure.

7045

CSO: 2800

RIOT AT PRISTINA SOCCER STADIUM DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1553, 5 Oct 80
pp 28-30

[Article by Zvonko Simic, Milan Milosevic and Milisav Krstic: "Riot
Against Soccer?"]

[Text] Yugoslav soccer has a rich tradition of disturbances at games, but what happened in Pristina the week before last at the match between the Pristina club and Teteks of Tetovo never occurred before in matches in the first and second leagues. NIN has attempted to shed light on this event and to place it in context with events at soccer stadiums elsewhere in the country and indeed in the world. We have attempted to get to the roots of these irrational and sometimes fatal incidents which have become a constant concomitant of soccer affairs. We talked in Pristina, Tetovo and Belgrade with several dozen participants and witnesses of the soccer drama in Pristina which at certain moments could have become a tragedy. Perhaps there is no true, simple and direct explanation for what happened. We hope that all our conversations at the three key points can cast the events and the causes in a sharper light.

First about the event in the strict sense.

Pristina, the soccer team, was leading 1-0 when at the very end of the match the referee Radovan Joksic of Obrenovac called for a penalty kick, a call that was debatable at the very least. As has become the rule on our soccer fields, none of those whose responsibility it was to see what happened either confirmed or disputed the correctness of Joksic's call--neither of the two assistant referees, nor the umpire. At least that is what they said in their official reports.

How It Began

Bogdan Vukovic, the game's delegate, who was not called upon to evaluate the calls of the referees, says that there was no foul. In any case 12,000 spectators were convinced that the referee had intentionally deprived them of the joy of a victory. The umpire Miodjub Petrovic gave the referee

Joksic a 1 [a failing grade--translator's note], but he explained that he did not do this because he had called the penalty kick, but because the referee had not stopped the match when members of the Pristina team began to haul him around the field demanding that he change his call.

The real volcano erupted in the stadium at the point when the Teteks player Cupi shot a goal from the 11-meter penalty line. The Pristina players began to chase him around the field, and the referee whistled the end of the game and himself ran toward the runway that leads to the lockerroom under the stadium. Perhaps it was that flight which encouraged the fans to rush out onto the field.

A mutiny began in which it was difficult to recognize who was delivering and who was receiving all the blows. It is precisely those moments that were recorded in the only two photos we were able to find. In those photographs one person in uniform, probably a policeman, is calmly watching what is happening. On the field there were 13 policemen on duty and approximately the same number again in the grandstand, we were told by people in the city's Socialist Alliance. It is not clear why they were not effective in protecting the referees and the visiting players. The attempts by NIN's newsmen to get an answer to this question and to others were in vain. At the moment when this issue of NIN was being put to bed, 10 days after the event, the public still had not been informed even about the number of those arrested for disturbing the peace. Yet Yugoslav readers were informed--just 2 days after the event--that following similar disturbances in Athens some 30 troublemakers had been arrested there.

In the principal and supplemental reports of the match the head judge described the events in two contradictory versions: in the first, which went into the report written at the stadium itself, the referee said that Dimovski, the coach of the home team, had protected him from the enraged spectators (this was also stated by eyewitnesses in Pristina), but in the supplemental report (from the City Hospital in Belgrade) he said that the coach Dimovski held him in the runway while two ushers beat him and broke his rib. He also said that a policeman who was there also hit him. He explains these and other essential differences between the first and the supplemental report by saying that he was allegedly coerced to put into the official report only what suited the people there in Pristina.

The commission responsible for matches of the association of the clubs in the Eastern Group of the Second Federal League did not for all practical purposes take his supplemental report under consideration, and the delegate of the match, who was present when the report was written at the stadium, said that referee Joksic dictated his report to the Pristina secretary Milan Dutina without any sort of pressure.

The Teteks coach Zoran Colakovic says that some of the ushers attempted to stop the referees and the Teteks players rather than the spectators. The door to the lockerroom was locked. In those dramatic moments, Colakovic

says, real hell broke out. We were beaten not only by the unrestrained fans, but also by the ushers responsible for stadium security. Some of our players broke the glass in the door of the lockerroom (that must have been Memeti, whose hands were cut).

NIN has learned unofficially from circles other than the police that six troublemakers are in jail and that during the game two Teteke fans were also arrested and then released after interrogation.

Blagoje Kostic, president of the Pristina team, told NIN's reporter that during halftime those two threw some object at assistant referee Popev (an ear of corn, a stone or bottle, or a flashlight--there are differing interpretations of the event), from which the conclusion is drawn that this should have been a reason for stopping the game in Teteke's favor. Popev, the assistant referee from Skopje, has declared that he insisted that the head judge not stop the game.

Enraged Fans

Thus the Teteke players nevertheless managed to get into the lockerroom and barricade themselves. Their coach says that they are all of them deeply grateful to the Pristina players Trajkovic, Josifovski and Rajcevski, who "practically intervened with their bodies in order to protect us from the enraged fans."

One group of fans headed for the Grand Hotel, that imposing edifice about 400 meters away. Their anger was turned against the people from Tetovo--one car with Tetovo plates was turned over, several others were damaged, they tried to set fire to one but did not succeed, they broke the windows of the bus the visiting team came in, they also attempted to turn it over, but unsuccessfully. Summoned by walkie-talkie, the police withdrew from the stadium and concentrated in front of the hotel. The stadium emptied, and the gates were closed.

Perhaps 100 young people, perhaps more, went back to the stadium looking for the referee. According to the stories told by people from Pristina, they armed themselves along the way with sticks and rods from the construction site of the athletic center which is located between the hotel and the stadium.

In the meantime the referees and officials left the lockerroom and went off with members of the administration of the Pristina Soccer Club to the rooms belonging to the club at the goal line under the west stands, which has one wall of glass that looks out on the field.

As the report in dispute was being written there, the troublemakers broke into the lockerroom where the Teteke players had remained; using a lever, they bent the bars on the window.

The players withdrew from the lockerroom into the showerroom, leaving behind their things and equipment (NIN's reporter came upon a bag all torn open that was still there, everything else had vanished). Nor did the door of the showerroom hold. The equipment manager of the Pristina team says that he hid the Teteks players in an equipment storeroom 3 meters long and 2 meters wide. The troublemakers shattered that door with an ax.

In a way these moments were the culmination of the drama, at least for the Teteks players. One of them sobbed out loud, "Surely you're not going to kill us over a ball?" The troublemakers were particularly looking for Zimer Cupi, who had scored the goal on the penalty kick in the game. Cupi said: "The one with the ax wanted me to explain why I didn't miss the penalty kick. I begged him on my knees to spare me and my comrades."

In the end the offenders went first for the referee. When they didn't find him, they went on to the offices of the Pristina Soccer Club, in the upper corner of the west stands.

Zoran Tasic, Miodrag Savic and five other players from Tetovo did not dare to leave the stadium, fearing they might be lynched, so they hid in a pile of iron and boards underneath the stands. Mirko Petrov, one of those who withdrew, said that he was rescued by Karabeg, Pristina's assistant coach. "I set off to look for the Teteks coach and I saw that some 50 troublemakers had surrounded Petrov in the street and beat him. I bundled him into the car and went off home," went Karabeg's version.

The official representative of Teteks, Bogdan Dejanovski, said that as he was leaving the stadium with the delegate of the game and a member of the administration of the Pristina team he came upon a crowd of people which began to ask them who they were and what they were, and while delegate Vukovic was explaining, "I fled to a nearby house. In the courtyard a car was parked, I slipped underneath it, so that the small group of young men who were chasing me fortunately did not find me." Dejanovski added that later in the Grand Hotel he was with a small group of players and members of the administration of Teteks, that at about 2230 hours they left Pristina, but leaving behind six players, the assistant coach and one member of the management, whose fate they learned of only on Monday morning. The other members of the expedition from Tetovo returned to their homes during the night each on his own, by taxi, by bus or in some other way.

Many members of the administration of the Pristina Soccer Club attempted to protect the guests from Teteks as well as they knew how and as well as they could. The club's director Zecir Govori was injured when he was attempting on the stairs in front of the entrance to the offices of the Pristina Soccer Club to stop a group which had set off to settle accounts with the referee once again.

Between Vandalism and Lynching

"They simply walked right over me," Zecir Govori told our newsmen in Belgrade in an intermission during the session of the commission for games of "his" league. Zoran Tasic, a Teteks soccer player, said that he saw him lying on the concrete.

Milan Dutina, secretary of the Pristina Soccer Club, showed the NIN reporter the corner in which the referee Joksic hid when the stones began to fly. "I also tried to hold them back, they pushed me away, and they knocked referee Joksic down into the corner and beat him."

The assistant referee Andreja Antic said that he also received blows at that time.

In the opinion of the victims the police were slow in coming. Milan Dutina said that they called the police from the stadium, when the last wave came. Apparently it seemed that the heart of the struggle was in front of the Grand Hotel, where a crowd had gathered. That was also the assessment of Mehmed Mustafa, president of the Socialist Alliance, whom we talked with. In any case the event went far beyond the domain of athletics, ranging somewhere between vandalism and lynching. Not only did the property of the referees and the Teteks players disappear from the lockerroom, but the offices of the Pristina Soccer Club were also ransacked, soccer equipment disappeared, and one of the offenders was seen putting a telephone under his coat. The immediate damage suffered by the Pristina Soccer Club is estimated at about 40 million dinars. The nonmaterial loss is practically beyond assessment.

Differing motives are always crisscrossed in this kind of explosion of resentment and violence. It seems that the Pristina incident was above all a rebellion against soccer and all the dirty games, whether they have to do with the judges, scandals or whatever, which have been part of it for years now.

Mehmed Mustafa expressed the unanimous opinion of people of Pristina about the nature of the event when he said to NIN: "There weren't any nationalistic or any sort of other slogans at all except those against soccer."

In Pristina Joksic's refereeing of this game is referred to scandalous, and they add along the same line that the referee was not merely a victim of the rage of the most aggressive fans, but in fact the one who started it all. Sensing that the temperature of the spectators was rising dangerously, one public prosecutor was told by a friend, half in jest: "Go down on the field and arrest the referee." "There's no evidence," the prosecutor said. "You have 12,000 witnesses, isn't that enough?"

Yet this version would be much more convincing if the visiting players, visiting fans and even the home club Pristina had not also been victims of the attack.

If we look for prior events which contributed to the explosive atmosphere, we should remember the notorious game on the same field against OFK [Youth Soccer Club] of Belgrade, which decided whether OFK or some other team would go up into the first league. Aside from their dissatisfaction with Abdulahu, the referee, on that occasion the fans also bared their teeth to their own club or at least to certain of its players. They demonstrated that they do not believe that even their hands are clean.

Djemal Hasani, president of the Kosovo Soccer Federation, feels that the rebellion was caused by the pent-up dissatisfaction of the spectators because of a series of games on this field where the refereeing was biased. The public has gotten the impression that the "referees have turned against us." The Kosovo Soccer Federation pronounced penalties at the end of the last championship. Had that orientation been adopted everywhere, Hasani said, I am convinced that we would have a better situation in soccer.

A Tough League

The Pristina Soccer Club until recently had a small public, no more than would fit into a theater, says Safet Preka, secretary of the SIZ [Self-Managed Special-Interest Community] for Physical Education. The city has grown from 15,000 in 1945 to a population of 120,000. On coming to Pristina people continued to root for the teams from the places they came from--those from Kosovska Mitrovica for Trepca, those from Djakovica for Vlaznimi.... But recently this public has taken up ambitions of getting into the first league, and they have a firmer emotional attachment to the Pristina Soccer Club.

The Eastern Group of the Second Federal League is supposed to be a "tough league." The competition here is among several teams from cities of similar size which have grown up very rapidly in demographic, industrial and even financial expansion. Tension runs high at all the games among the principal rivals.

It is a fact that an "excessive number of spectators" have already been attending the soccer games in Pristina. It seems that the team has the largest attendance at its soccer games in the league.

The people from Pristina are particularly upset that it looks as though they are poor hosts. The sacredness of hospitality, well known in the regional folklore, has still not been erased by urbanization. Even a waiter in a restaurant will not let you pay the check if you sit down with a friend who says: "He is not from here." He will collect from the friend. And those who are knowledgeable say that in Albania the same word is used for guest and friend.

The fact that the Pristina players Josifovski, Trajkovic and Tajceviski were suspended in a meeting of the commission for games of the "eastern group," because they attacked the referee when he called a foul also belongs among

the special irrationalities of the Pristina drama; the same three players also turn up in the statements of the people from Tetovo and the men who rescued them at the sacrifice of their own skin. Several soccer players had come from Teteks to play for the Pristina Soccer Club. The coaches of the two teams were once on the same team. And after everything that happened, the representatives of the two teams and with them the entire commission for games--at the meeting in Belgrade 6 days later--devoted incomparably more attention and time to the dispute over whether the referee whistled the regular end of the game or cut the game short than to the causes of the unfortunate event. One point more or less in the standings overshadowed the essence of the matter on this occasion once again, overshadowed the essence of the game of soccer and of wholesome relations and athletics in general.

Like a Member of a Religious Sect

Milenko Karan, a psychologist, says that you cannot expect a fan to be objective. The very word itself means [in Serbo-Croatian] that he is wound up, and he behaves like the member of a religious sect.

Sometimes it is even worse than that, he is like a member of a belligerent in a war.

On 26 March 1978 this journal wrote: "Fortunately we have not had in Yugoslavia what has already become customary in England, Italy, and the countries of South America--mass skirmishes which move from soccer stadiums into the streets of the city..." Unfortunately events have betrayed us. It is a "brief schizophrenia," as one psychiatrist refers to the behavior of soccer spectators, that caused the fierce incidents in recent years at the games in this "tough league" to which Pristina and Teteks belong.

To continue with the terminology of psychiatry, the stadiums are "doctors' offices for group abreaction of urban aggressiveness," or, if you like, the "largest psychiatric clinic in the world."

In the urban anthill which imposes restraint and self-discipline, beginning with the job, including municipal transportation, and ending with the ban on "walking on the grass" in the city park, people seem to be looking for a place where they can let themselves go. They find it unfortunately in the soccer stadium.

Last winter during a game between the city rivals Roma and Lazio in Rome, a Roma fan fired an antihail rocket (!) on the Lazio fans on the other side of the field who were clustered around a banner; it injured a Roma player and killed one person whom it hit directly in the face.

Should we be content that nothing like that has happened in our country?

If under certain circumstances a contemporary stadium can become a "temporary madhouse," the kind of soccer we play and the kind of soccer we watch contribute to this. Judging that is biased and even bribed, scores agreed on, games fixed, and a war over a point in the standings in which there is no shame and no restraint multiply many times over the explosive effect of a stadium crammed with between 10,000 and 15,000 spectators. Nevertheless, a cleaner soccer would be the best pledge to keeping the curve of such incidents from rising any more.

7045

CSO: 2800

LIES BY JOB HUNTERS FOUND 'JUSTIFIED' IN COURT DECREES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1552, 28 Sep 80
pp 24-25

[Article by Vuk Draskovic]

[Text] Is every lie immoral? Aren't we forced at times to lie? And finally, how are we to take a court decision which directly or indirectly sanctions the right to falsehood?

First of all, a few concrete examples. Neither embellished nor dramatized: simply randomly chosen from the reality in which we work and in which we live.

Why Not Tell the Truth

First Case. An unemployed young man answers a want ad for which he meets all the conditions sought: he has senior postsecondary specialized training, he knows English and he has no medical problems. He learns from a friend, however, that applications will not even be examined from those who have not resolved their housing problem. To put it simply, this does not pay from the collective's standpoint. The young man resorts to cunning and assumes "full moral, financial and criminal liability" by stating that he has a privately owned apartment and is permanently taken care of in that respect. The way it actually worked out was this: the lad was hired and soon submitted an application to obtain an apartment. In the collective the alarm was sounded. Some demanded that he be discharged for having given false information, while others said that in line with what he wrote in his application, his housing question "should be regarded as resolved." The second view prevailed, the "liar" was not fired, but his right to housing was taken away from him. Had the deception been discovered during the proceedings to fill the vacancy, it is almost certain that he would not have been hired.

Second Case. A woman wrote in her application that she has two children and that she will not have any more. She also did this after certain indications that the commission was reluctant to hire pregnant women, both

present and future, because of the long childbirth leave. She was hired, and in 7 months she gave birth.

Third Case. In competing for an editor's position in a publishing work organization, an applicant said that he was a member of the LCY [SKJ]. He assumed this would "help him along." It later turned out that he had never been a member of the party [LCY]. But actually he was rather clever and explained that he hadn't lied at all, because he actually was a member of the Federation of Yugoslav Writers [SKJ].

Many other variations of these and similar deceptions are possible and occur in practice. For example, for a worker to say there are six members rather than three members in his family so as to obtain a larger apartment and get it more quickly, or to "assume full liability" and state that because of dampness in his dwelling the children have gotten chronic bronchitis, and then after he has moved to a new apartment it turns out that he doesn't even have any children.... The question is this, What is to be done then? Fire him, declare the competition unlawful, deprive people of their right to housing, or simply throw up one's hands in the face of this deception?

Judges Are Protecting "Immorality"

In examining a similar appeal by a worker from Nis, the Constitutional Court of Serbia decided in principle that a provision (Article 50) of the Social Compact on Employment in that opstina was unconstitutional and unlawful: that article says that a person shall be dropped from the competition or a decision already made shall be annulled if it turns out that to obtain a job more easily a worker has concealed something about himself or his family or has given inaccurate information. The bodies of self-management, the court said, are required to act on the basis of the real situation, that is, the truthful one, and not that which a worker inaccurately stated for this or that reason. In other words, regardless of what he wrote or stated, he cannot be deprived of his right to housing if he actually does not have a roof over his head. Much less can he be discharged for this or some similar reason and thereby deprived of the right to work which is guaranteed by the constitution.

In ruling on a similar case the Serbian Court of Associated Labor (decision dated 18 June of this year) explicitly said that "the furnishing of inaccurate information in an application for an apartment cannot affect a worker's right to participate in the allocation of apartments." Otherwise, by the same logic and because of petty "deceptions," his right to personal income might be infringed, and that in and of itself is absurd and unthinkable.

As we see, the judges have had to overlook this falsification. But a lie is a lie regardless of how serious it is or what its motives were. So, however unenviable the real position of the unemployed and subtenants, it is difficult to conceive how such cases can be given society's blessing.

But the problem has two sides. People are compelled to distort the facts in order to obtain housing or a job more easily because circumstances have driven them to this means of obtaining something which they are otherwise entitled to without any sort of inventions and deceptions.

It is first of all unconstitutional to make hiring conditional upon the applicant's possession of housing or renunciation of motherhood. Or to make it conditional upon membership in the party, or to make it conditional upon presentation of a certificate on permanent residence in a particular town or region.

First, certain comrades obtain jobs and apartments, then they raise their children and all of a sudden on behalf of "stewardly" business operation, they have thought of depriving others of what they themselves possess.

Looked at from this angle, the judges have made the only possible and fair decision.

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ANONYMOUS EX-CONSCRIPT DESCRIBES EXPERIENCES IN ARMY

London NOVA HRVATSKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun, 13, 27 Jul 80

[29 Jun 80, pp 15-16]

[Text] A young Croatian living in Yugoslavia has secretly sent to the editors of NOVA HRVATSKA a report on his time in the Yugoslav Armed Forces, from which he was recently discharged. Only those details which might expose the author have been altered in the text.

There were only a few soldiers with puffy faces and glazed eyes in the dirty little train station of a town in southern Serbia. They had obviously had quite a bit to drink. Their caps were pushed back on their heads, and they had their fingers stuck in their notched belts, so as to make them prominent: each "notch" represented a month spent in the army. Their bayonets hung from their right hip and bumped against their bodies, which were keeping their balance with increasing difficulty....

The brakes screeched loudly and the worn-out cars whined as the train finally came to a stop at the first platform. The group of young men left the train hesitantly and cast frightened looks in all directions.

The sun was resting on a distant hill, and the heat mixed with the stench from a nearby toilet which had been built who knows when. Garbage and trash represented the first picture of the town we had just arrived in.

"Come on, lizards, let's see where you will be assigned," the half-drunk soldiers called out. "Recruits with the military post office number 7356/2 over here!" ordered one of the soldiers, who had two red stripes on his sleeve, referred to as "slashes" in military language, which meant that he had the rank of corporal. Beside him stood a tall lad with one "slash." He was a private first class. I assumed from his speech that he was from the south.

"Is there anyone from Kljuc?" the private first class asked, but no one spoke up. "So, no one from my home town," he said in answer to his own question.

"Fine, lads, let's get started: first, turn over whatever alcohol you have! You can't take it on the post! But we still have time ... here is a bar, and we'll wet our whistle a little bit.... You, lizards, once you pass the gate, you won't be out again for a month if not more...."

The corporal just laughed and turned without a word toward the bar, which was three or four steps from the toilet. We recruits, numbering five or six, went into the "Trainman" bar without a word. Only the fellow from my home town showed any signs of cheerfulness. "We're lucky to be at the same post," he said with relief.

There were only a few tables in the bar at which some other recruits were sitting along with a few soldiers, and there was the fat bartender with a red face, with a mustache over his thick lips, who was gasping for air it was so stifling. Swarms of flies were almost the only vital signs in what was almost a still life.

When we sat down at a table in the corner near the bar, the fat guy came up to us and asked: "What will you have?" The soldiers ordered rum and coffee, and the recruits Coca Cola. "Afraid, huh? Today you could drink something stronger....," the corporal said, poking fun at them. I ordered a Badel cognac, but I had hardly got out the words when the fat guy drew himself up like a gorilla: "Hey, you, where do you think you are? We don't have that here. Listen, fella, you can have Prokupac or Navip, and if you want wine, there's Colt's Blood, Tsar Lazar...." "Thank you," I interrupted him, "I still have a little grappa in my bag, and that will be enough for me...." "Want a glass?" "No, thanks, I prefer it from the bottle...."

"Are you a Dalmatian?" the corporal asked me. I swallowed my saliva and reluctantly said: "Brdjak."

The corporal bragged to the others: "Today this is my 14th rum with coffee, but come on, boys, let's drink this grappa so as not to throw it away, or this bear of a man will sell it if we leave it here...."

"So we're from the same region," the corporal went on to say, "I'm from Capljina myself. Better for you to put that back in your bag, and we'll have a few swigs along the way...."

The First Night in the Barracks

The post was quite far from the railroad station. We walked a good half a hour to the other end of the town. It had already gotten dark; moonlight and a sky full of stars. A breeze that came from the mountain drove away the heat of the June night.

At the entrance to the post the corporal offered what was left of the grappa to the sentry, who was happy to take it and greedily swallowed down a good

swig. We headed for a nearby building, and the corporal remained with the soldier on guard duty to finish what was still left in the bottle.

From the "gate," for which they used the Turkish word, it was about 300 meters to the barracks. In front of me there was a high one-story building which had obviously once been the mansion of some rich man. We entered a broad corridor where there were two soldiers, one at one end and the other at the other end of the corridor. Wrapped in their military overcoats, they looked a little like ghosts.

The thick walls of the old mansion were full of dampness and cold--in the middle of summer. Against the wall there was a "rack" for a "modern" weapon--an M-48 rifle, the "Kragujevka [that is, manufactured in the arsenal in Kragujevac], such as no one else in the world has," I was to learn later from the officers. There were also two machineguns, so old it was difficult to determine when they were made. The recruits quietly whispered to one another: "Which one will we get?"

There were four doors off the corridor. We came to the last, near the bottom of the staircase. Over the door was written: "Welcome, comrades and soldiers," but beyond the door we were awaited by a real welcome such as it is difficult to imagine in any civilized country: the recruits were lying on old mattresses, fully clothed under the blankets, which probably had once been horse blankets when the cavalry still existed. The heavy odor was almost intolerable in the stifling room.

My neighbor Ante took the bed next to me. For a long time we could not go to sleep, and we talked quietly until we left each other each to his own thoughts. In this black and stinking darkness many verses about freedom constantly come into one's head.

It seemed to me that I had not slept an hour when sweet-smelling bodies began to hop over me. It was 0500 hours. A figure at the door screeched: "Get up, soldiers!" Some soldiers, I thought.

"Hold it there, fella, where are you going! First you make the beds, then you wash up, and only then you go to breakfast!" I lay there a bit longer and looked at the bustle around me. "And what are you waiting for? Mama's not gonna bring you your breakfast in bed here!" "Take it easy, friend, there's no hurry!" I retorted and refused to hurry. When I passed in front of the corporal after washing up, he said through his teeth: "You, just wait and I get my hands on you...."

I went back into the dormitory. Absolute chaos. Some were looking for their shoes, others their jackets, still another bewailing his missing bag or money. "The old hooks" (soldiers who had served longer) had come into their own and had gathered up booty. They would soon be going home, so they were making sure they had civilian clothes....

I looked at these beardless boys, who looked like lambs in a sheep pen surrounded by wolves. This was to be their first experience...!

Finally breakfast time came. My friend Ante was next to me in formation, and the older soldiers standing around called out to us: "Lizards, things with tails, you'll never last to the end," and they stamped with their boots on the crumbling and cracked concrete as though they were stamping on someone's tail.

The unpleasant smell from the place that bore a sign saying "Mess Hall" struck us from the very entrance. Breakfast consisted of a little piece of bacon the size of a matchbox, a little cup of tea and a small piece of bread. Few of the newly arrived recruits ate anything. The tea had almost no taste, and the bacon was rancid. At the table were my friend Ante and I and three young Albanians. When the Albanians saw that we were not eating our bacon, they asked in broken Macedonian what religion we were. "Catholics, Croats," I answered. "We have Catholic Albanians at home. They root for Dinamo or Hajduk," one of them said to us confidentially. They were glad to see we were not eating the bacon, and when we told them that we also root for Dinamo and Hajduk [soccer teams of Zagreb and Split, respectively], there was a warm atmosphere at our table as though we had been friends for years.

"Hey, you Shiptars! Send that bacon over here if it doesn't smell good to you!" someone from a neighboring table shouted. The Albanians gave him a dirty look and only muttered through their teeth: "Chusha nona!" (Albanian curse)

We left the mess hall together. We formed up on the path and then went off for haircuts, baths and the issuing of uniforms. The trousers I got were too large, and I tried to exchange them, but the captain overseeing the issuing of clothes and military equipment shouted at the top of his voice: "OK, everyone out! What are you thinking of, buddy?!" I wasn't thinking of anything, everything was clear to me already....

After that a corporal took me to my unit and told me: "Your unit is called 2/3, which means second battalion, third company. Pick one of these bunks. Upper or lower?" (They were double bunks.)

I laid out my clothes in the wooden cupboard which in "professional" military language is called a locker, and at that point I noticed the traces of its having been forced open several times. I looked about me for a safer cupboard, but I saw that all the lockers were the same--all of them had been broken into.... Along the way I counted the bunks in the dormitory--27 double bunks, so 54 bunks in all. There was just enough space left in the room so the soldiers could get to their bunks.

At about 1000 hours the corporal came and told us to go with him to the classroom. We were to meet the captain. The classroom was almost the same

as in school, except that each cadet had a three-legged stool instead of a chair with a back. Here as everywhere there was a picture of "our beloved."

I sat down in the last bench and looked at the close-cut heads in front of me. One of the seven corporals gathered there warned us in soldierly fashion: "Lizards, when I say Attention, you must all stand up as one!" He had hardly finished when the captain appeared at the door holding his cap in his hand. The corporal shouted: "Attention!" but the agreement didn't hold--everyone stood up at his own "command"....

The captain ordered us to sit down, and reminded the corporal that he should already have taught us how to greet him. "Don't greet me again that way tomorrow, comrade corporals, I hope you understand me." "We do, comrade Captain!"

The captain, about 180 cm tall, with a keen look, a large mouth with spaces between his teeth, getting a little gray at the temples, finally turned to the soldiers: "Comrades, I am Captain Milija Matic. You make up a unit consisting of 44 new soldiers and 18 older comrades. I have already told you who I am and I want to hear from you who you are, what are your names and where you are from and what you are.

"We will begin in order.... Don't speak until I do," he said, suddenly changing his tone, and then he resumed, "Who are you, comrade?"

The young man in the first row stood up and answered: "Redzepi, Redzep" and then he took his seat again. "Who, soldier, told you to sit down? Get up!" Redzep stood up again, but slower than the first time. "You are not to stand up, soldier, as though you liberated Belgrade, but as soon as I say 'You soldier!' you should already be on your feet. Do you understand?" "I do, comrade Captain!" "And you should say: 'If you please, comrade Captain, I am soldier so and so' and you should ask: 'Comrade Captain, allow me to sit down,' and I will then give you permission to sit down....

"And you soldier?" the captain asked the soldier next to Redzep. This one stood up quickly and in his haste turned over the stool, which fell to the floor very noisily: "If you please, comrade Captain! Soldier Miletic, Zarko, Bosnian from Zenica." "Sit down!" the captain said. The soldier sat down, but again he made a mistake: "Who told you, soldier, to sit down without saying 'Yes sir, comrade Captain'?" It was all we could do to restrain our laughter.

"And who are you, comrade?" "Jovanovic, Aca!" We could no longer restrain ourselves, and the classroom began to shake with laughter--Jovanovic had again forgotten military protocol.

[13 Jul 80, pp 14-15]

[Text] The uncontrollable laughter in the classroom died out only at the captain's third appeal: "Enough, soldiers, I don't want to hear another word!" After Aca Jovanovic, to whom it was still not clear what mistake he had made, a tall broad-shouldered lad with a robust voice stood up on the captain's order: "If you please, comrade Captain! I am Brzica, Ante, Croat, Catholic!" the young soldier answered in a clipped speech. The captain gave him a glance that was like a slap in the face: "What are you doing, soldier, blurting out what no one has asked you, huh? Who cares what religion you are? Where are you from, that's what I want to know!"

"From Siroki Brijeg, comrade Captain, Listica, if you have heard of it...." The captain didn't hear the comment and only mumbled: "So, from Hercegovina...."

Then my turn came to introduce myself: "Dalibor Ter, Croat from southern Croatia!" At this the captain set his jaw, and his pupils jumped about nervously several times in his lean face. "Well, you surprise me the most, Dalibor! You might have learned from the others to put your last name first, and then your first name, and then where you're from, yes, I want to hear you say where you are from, do you understand!"

"From the little village of Raseljka in southern Croatia, Livanjska Krajina." The captain as though with sudden relief, concluded: "Dalmatian, so why didn't you say so...." "But I am not a Dalmatian by nationality, but a Croat, and that is what you asked me...." I said, standing my ground. "Is that so, well, I will have some other questions for you, damn your hide," the captain said, bristling once again, "You just wait, we will be talking again...."

Later the rest of the soldiers satisfied the captain; one introduced himself as from Zagorje, another from Slavonia, a third from Lika, another from Kordun, a Bosnian, a Serb, a Slovene, a Moslem, a Macedonian, a Montenegrin; no one else aroused the captain with that objectionable word--CROAT.

The first days of our life as soldiers were taken up by preparations and drills for the "solemn oath." The drill was conducted by a second lieutenant, and the captain whom we had already become acquainted with conducted our class in political instruction.

After 2 or 3 days the second lieutenant also started to pick on me. During the morning drill an open conflict even occurred between us: "Do you hear me, soldier?! I'll stick it up your ass' stocking!" he shouted in front of the entire formation of soldiers. He stared at me all in a froth: "I want this unit to stand as an example, as those before you have stood, and those who don't toe the line, we will have other methods for them...."

"Are those curses meant for me, comrade second lieutenant?" I asked him without a bit of fear, and I looked him straight in the eyes. "Yes, for you, f--- your...", he answered, still more angry, but he nevertheless held back from finishing his last thought: "It is good that you publicly confirm this in front of the entire unit..." The second lieutenant reflected a bit and fell silent. But a bit later, still excited, he again addressed me: "At 1400 hours you will report to the captain! You will dress up in a new uniform and appear in full battle dress!"

Ten minutes before the appointed time I was standing in front of the office of Captain Matic. After I waited half an hour the clerk called me in and said in passing: "What the hell did you do that for?" (He was a Serb from Mostar.) Holding my cap in my hand, I entered in silence.

"Do you see how I can see through people immediately? I told you we'd be seeing each other. And you come in without a salute, as though we were your subordinates. Lieutenant, when you send someone to me, first teach him how to salute." After the captain's introduction, the second lieutenant tried to say something: "Comrade Captain..." "That's enough, lieutenant!" he interrupted him, and then again turned to me: "What was the problem, soldier?" "Well, this fella insulted me..." "He is not 'this fella' to you!" "Excuse me, the second lieutenant. He accused me of encouraging the soldiers to shirk, he called me names and swore at me..."

It seems to me that I softened the captain a bit with my choice of words. He reflected briefly about something, and then muttered absently: "You can go!" Only later did I realize that I was not rescued so much by my own "cleverness" as by the bad blood between the captain and the second lieutenant. For a long time already they had had a cat-and-dog relationship.

While I had been on report, the other soldiers had been at lunch. By the time I returned, the mess hall was closed. I again put on my fatigues and went off to my "duty." The second lieutenant (we called him PP [initial letters of second lieutenant in Serbo-Croatian]): "Your rifle has not been cleaned. I want it to be clean by 1700 hours and shine like the sun! Do you understand?" Perfectly. I took the gun in my hands and looked through the barrel. You could hardly see the light at the other end. "What did you do to it?" I asked myself....

After some 20 days of practicing the "oath" and marching, the day came when we had no choice: in front of the picture of "our beloved" we young soldiers, numbering between 400 and 500, had to take the oath. A table with red carnations and photographs of the "commander in chief" was set up in front of each unit. We all had to repeat after the officers: "I solemnly swear that I will defend the independence, constitutional order and integrity of self-managed socialist Yugoslavia...." Several soldiers around me merely opened their mouths and probably were thinking the same thing I was.

[27 Jul 80, p 15]

[Text] An exhibition of "modern weapons" was held the first week after the "oath" on the grounds of the post; it was also open to the public. Already by about 0800 hours Captain Matic marched us up to examine the weapons.

"This is a heavy cannon which takes a crew of six or seven soldiers. It was used in the Vietnam War and showed good results. It is accurate against targets up to 15 km away," the captain declaimed in chosen words. "The shells weigh as much as 25 kg and they can kill within a radius of up to 500 meters."

I noticed that there were more Soviet guns between 105 and 122 mm than anything else. There were also T55 tanks from the war and old machineguns. Hand grenades, mortars and multiple-barrel launchers, which are operated by an electronic trigger, were manufactured in Yugoslavia. The "more recent" models of machineguns were manufactured in 1952. The small antiaircraft guns were also very outdated. They had a manual training mechanism "as though the aircraft would wait in the air while the gunner takes aim," as my friend Tugomir noted. The captain went on ensuring everyone around him that these were "the most up-to-date weapons in hitting and bringing down airplanes..."

For days we prepared for our first target practice with the M-48 rifle. For the captains this was the question of prestige. The tension among them also increased for a particular reason: They had to conceal the scores very well from one another. These scores were catastrophically poor. Anyone who hit the target with just one out of six shots had to be proud. But in the end it all turned out right: if you had five bull's-eyes, they gave you another 10, and if you had seven, they would mark down 20. "The best score" was 45 bull's-eyes.

Some soldiers, however, did not even dare to fire, and the captains, showing the soldiers how to do this, shot at the targets, but even they did not get hits with the "good and accurate rifle, the Kragujevka, a rifle such as no one else in the world has...."

After target practice the scores were read out. It was ridiculous to listen to the obvious lies, but "that is the way it must be," Captain Matic admitted to us in confidence: "What would the commanding officer say if he heard that only one had a passing score out of 60 soldiers? But that is a military secret, comrades and soldiers! Don't tell anyone about this or write home, especially not abroad. Anyone who does will have a hard time. It is a very dangerous matter to divulge military secrets, and you know what happens to such people...."

Political Instruction: "When I Say So, You Know That It's the Opposite...!"

Every day we had political instruction which the captain conducted personally. We learned about capitalism, Marxism, imperialism and the benefits of socialism. After almost every charge against the West the captain would end with a sentence: "Isn't that right, Vladimir?" Vladimir, whom I'd also made friends with, would each time confirm what the captain requested from him.

This was a little strange to me, since we knew that before going into the army Vladimir had worked abroad and would tell us about how "it had not been bad." After one lecture I happened to catch him alone. I asked him openly: "So, Vladimir, before you told us that you lived well in Germany, and now when the captain asks for confirmation from you who has been there, you back everything bad he has to say about the West. How is that?" "I will tell you if you don't tell anyone," Vladimir told me in confidence. "The captain called me in once and told me: 'We know that you have been in a capitalist country. We also know how it is there, but we must talk to the soldiers about the negative consequences of capitalism. So when I ask you, you back up what I say. You will be able to tell whether you should say yea or nay to what I say. We have to collaborate, but let it stay between us two. Do you understand?'"

"'Yes, comrade Captain. In other words, we have to break down the soldiers' illusions about the benefits of the West....' 'Right, that's exactly what I want you to do. And, you know, there will be rewards ... extra leave and other privileges.' So now you understand, he ordered me to back up what he said so that you would no longer believe those things. If I had not consented, I would have a hard time, and he would certainly find someone else. So, when I confirm something, you know that the truth is the opposite!"

This was a worthwhile experience; later we followed political instruction with more "comprehension."

The Soldier's Life in the Mountains

During military exercises we all had to go in the field. We spent 20 days on Golija with other units from Belgrade, Negotin, Kragujevac, Vranje and other places. Only some dozen soldiers were left on the post.

We slept in some old tents (an entire squad in one tent, and sometimes an entire platoon). During the field exercises there were no baths, we slept in our clothes and boots. Before departure we had taken some sort of injections to increase the resistance of the organism. Without that who knows what we would have come back with.

For those 20 days we ate only dry food and canned food 10 years old or more! In the evening the officers went into the settlement to drink and returned to the camp just before dawn. One morning Captain Matic said to

me in a good humor: "Listen here, soldier, the longer these exercises last, the better. Now, look here, don't you serve any more cognac to those fat asses (at that time I was working in the improvised canteen), let them slobber, sons of whores...." That is, his fellow captains.

The officers hated each other with a passion. They gossiped about one another and envied each other for having a larger apartment, for having a better wife or car, for having gotten credit, for one having pulled the wool over the other's eyes, and the like. In their hatred and primitivism the officers went so far as not to conceal their mutual relations even from the soldiers. As a matter of fact, they even talked about their colleagues in front of us.

I often wondered, then, how these commanding officers would behave in wartime? What would drive them to help one another? Even in ordinary conversations about sports you could easily see that they were ready to find a pretext for showing their enmity:

"Listen, Georgie, Ivan says that the Red Star soccer team will not end up in first place! Hell, I'll hang him up by his b----! Come on, man, who would dare to take away our title, eh?" Captain Ivan is a Croat by nationality, but he has utterly renounced his origin. In order to survive in this society, he has replaced his Croatian language with Serbian; I never heard him display his Croatian nationality in any way whatsoever. He groveled before the Serbs, but in spite of all that he never ceased to be a Croat in the eyes of the Serbs. They never received him into their society, nor do they recognize him as their equal. Perhaps precisely because he has lost his human and ethnic dignity.

During the military exercises on Golija we fired the heavy guns, Russian and American howitzers. When the war in Vietnam ended, it no longer paid the Americans to transport their weapons back to America, so they sold them. Some were bought by Yugoslavia. An old T55 tank, a relic from the war, was even used in the exercises. If someone from outside had seen this, he might have thought that some old Partisan film was being made and not that these were exercises of the "up-to-date Yugoslav People's Army!"

We also carried mortars from the post, but on Golija we fired only a few blanks, because of the lack of ammunition. Quite a few of the soldiers were trained in handling mortars, but during their service in the army they didn't fire a single shell.

Nighttime Alerts--By Agreement

From time to time alerts were organized on the post or in the field to check military preparedness. Of course, the time of the alert was supposed to be a secret. However, the captain of our unit would always tell us in advance, "So that no one will be surprised." That is probably how the others acted as well.

The captain first warned us that there would be an alert, and then he would usually add: "No one must know that I told you! Each unit has its destination in case of an alert. You will all have to be in full battle dress. Jump on the first truck and start right off...."

And as a matter of fact no one looked to see whose truck was whose at those times. "No one knows which end is up around here!" one of the commanders would say after the mess with the alert. This circus was repeated two or three times to "check our alertness and military skill."

After target practice and this kind of military training, there were few other important events on the post. The principal soldier's preoccupation at that time was to count the days to discharge from the armed forces. Everyone can hardly wait for the end of this most miserable life to come as soon as possible.

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DATE FILMED

November 21, 1980

Debbie